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This paper discusses the migration expectations of a sample of 152 respondents interviewed while high school seniors in 1948 and reinterviewed in 1956 concerning their migration performances. The research was designed to test the general hypothesis that a relationship exists between certain social and personal characteristics and migration performances. In addition, characteristics of those with migration performances congruent or incongruent with expectations are discussed. Of the 63% of the sample which in 1948 stated their intention to migrate, 83% achieved their goal in 1956; however, only one half of the undecided migrated. More females than males migrated, and more nonfarm than farm males left. The males who migrated had a higher socioeconomic background, more frequently discussed their future plans with their parents, and aspired to obtain additional training beyond high school than those males who remained in their home communities. For these variables, no differences existed between females who migrated or remained in their home communities. (author/nl)

MIGRATION EXPECTATIONS AND PERFORMANCES OF OPEN-COUNTRY YOUNG ADULTS: A LONGITUDINAL STUDY, 1948-1956

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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the migration expectations of a sample of 152 respondents interviewed while high school seniors in 1948 and reinterviewed in 1956 concerning their migration performances. The research was designed to test the general hypothesis that a relationship exists between certain social and personal characteristics and the migration performances of the respondents. In addition, characteristics of those with migration performances congruent or incongruent with expectations are discussed. Analysis indicated that, when a decision was made concerning migration, a highly significant number of the respondents achieved their expectation. Of those undecided concerning their migration expectations, half were residing in and half had migrated from their home communities after eight years. More females migrated than males, and more nonfarm males left than farm males. Males tended to support the hypotheses, but females gave limited support.

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INTRODUCTION

Rural to urban migration is a major phenomenon that has been occurring in the United States for several decades. Changing technology with less demand for unskilled labor and a traditionally higher birth rate have been major factors in the increasing number of rural young people leaving their families and their home communities to seek occupational opportunities elsewhere.

Past research has indicated that the rural portion of the population has supplied the urban labor market with workers for many decades. (4,8,16,20,24,32) In Iowa between 1950 and 1960, for example, the census count of the farm population showed a decrease of approximately 15 percent in the number of people residing on farms. In addition, with the increase in farm size and the rapid decline in the total number of farms, even larger numbers of rural residents will leave rural areas.

Sociologists have long been concerned with high mobility rates of young people from rural areas, and numerous studies have been conducted in recent decades to determine which youths will migrate from their rural home communities. The majority of the migration and occupational studies conducted have been concerned with the aspirations and expectations of high school youth, but there has beer a gross lack of longitudinal studies to determine the actual performances of youth in relation to their aspirations and expectations. It is felt that this study will give insights into the relationship between migration expectations and the performances of rural youth a considerable length of time after graduation.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Previous research has discovered that migrants from rural areas differ from nonmigrants in a number of important characteristics. (9,10, 12,13,14,17,25,26,31) Those who migrate tend to be single, under 25 or 30 years of age, and generally move urbanward. Most studies indicated that when sex-residence aggregates were analyzed, farm males were the least mobile while farm females were the most mobile. Schwarzweller (29) found that the propensity to migrate was essentially the same for rural farm and rural nonfarm males.

A relationship seems to exist between spatial mobility and the types of occupations young people entered. Numerous studies found that farm males who remained at home were more likely to be employed in farming or in blue collar occupations. (1,8,10) Past research indicated that males planning to farm have had few plans to continue their education beyond high school. If these males ever decide to discontinue farming and enter a nonfarm occupation, their chances of attaining a high status occupation would be limited because of their poor educational background. Because they fail to see the educational requirements for success in the nonfarm occupational world as relevant to themselves, these farm-reared males tend to isolate themselves from information concerning other types of occupations, know less about the occupational world, and are enrolled in fewer non-agricultural courses than males who do not plan to farm.[1]

Males who have farm backgrounds but no plans to farm tend to have lower educational and occupational aspirations than rural nonfarm or urban youth. Upon entering the urban labor market, these youth encountered difficulty in adjusting to the urban way of life and generally find

themselves employed in blue collar jobs, especially if no additional training beyond high school was obtained. (3,11,22,23) Rural nonfarm and village males were generally found in blue collar and white collar occupations with a greater proportion of the white collar occupations held by the village males. The proportion of females engaged in white collar occupations increased from farm through village residence.

When the distance individuals migrated from their home communities was considered, females tended to travel greater distances and at a younger age than males. (26) In a Pennsylvania study, males were more likely than females to be classified as stay-at-homes. (1) Females tended to be more mobile with a large proportion migrating from their parental homes but still residing within their home counties. Those persons with nonfarm backgrounds tended to leave the county more frequently than farm residents. In the Pennsylvania study, marriage seemed to be the major factor in the large proportion of females moving away from home.

In analyzing data for youth migrating from their parental home communities, Andrews and Sardo (2) found that among the males, going to school, job opportunities and greater avenues of success were the major factors given for leaving the home communities. In their study, females gave similar reasons for migrating, with marriage being of lesser importance than was indicated by Allen.

Past research has indicated that the more intelligent young people search for educational and occupational opportunities outside their home communities regardless of the opportunities that might have been available in the local communities. (13,28) Frequently, those who would have preferred to remain in their home communities had to leave because of the lack of local job opportunities. This drain from the communities of

individuals with leadership potential occurs when there is this type of selective out-migration of youth.

Three other variables seem to be prevalent in the research as being related to migration from the home communities. In a series of studies in Indiana, (9,12,25) high social status, a greater amount of knowledge concerning available jobs, and high educational attainments were found to be related to migration. While seniors in high school, it would seem that if these youth had a high socioeconomic background, discussed their future frequently with their parents and had aspirations to obtain additional training beyond high school, they would be more likely to migrate from their parental homes.

A large number of rural youth aspire to and eventually migrate from their home communities, but to date researchers have been unsuccessful in improving their ability to predict those who will definitely migrate. A longitudinal research design that analyzes data collected at two or more points in time, can provide insights to improve the predictability of those people who will migrate. By analyzing the congruency of migration performances with migration expectations and in analyzing factors related to migration performances, the present study may add to existing research in improving that predictability.

The literature reviewed indicates the following hypotheses to be pertinent: (1) rural youth with nonfarm background will be more likely to migrate from the home communities than those with farm backgrounds; (2) rural youth with high socioeconomic backgrounds will be more likely to migrate from their home communities than youth with lower socioeconomic backgrounds; (3) rural youth who discussed their future plans with parents

will be more likely to migrate from their home communities than youth who infrequently discussed future plans with parents; (4) rural youth with aspirations to obtain additional training beyond high school will be more likely to migrate from their home communities than those with no aspirations for additional training; and (5) female rural youth will be more likely to migrate from their home communities than male rural youth.

THE DATA

This paper analyzes the personal and social factors related to migration of a sample of young adults interviewed in 1948 while seniors in high school. These same respondents were reinterviewed in 1956 concerning their migration actions and their occupational attainments of that time. Both the initial study (6) and the restudy were conducted by Bohlen. (18) Bohlen and Wakeley (7) reported a follow-up of the students in 1949, one year after they graduated.

The data for this study were obtained prior to any migration actions of the respondents. Data were collected from all graduating senior males and females from the eight rural high schools in Hamilton County, Iowa, and the adjoining Story County community of Story City. Story City not only adjoins Hamilton County, but also is similar in regard to ethnic and other cultural factors.[2]

Hamilton County and the northwestern portion of Story County are located in the north-central grain area of Iowa. The area, with the most of the economy based on the production of livestock and corn, is one of the richest agricultural counties in the Midwest. The county is basically rural, the largest city being Webster City with a 1950 population of 8520.[3]

Hamilton County was one of the typical corn belt counties selected for study by the U.S.D.A., Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Division of Farm Population. (19)

The nine high schools studied were located in towns of from 100 to 1800 population. The largest high school had 130 students enrolled, and the smallest high school had an enrollment of 53 students. A total of 157 students were interviewed in 1948. Of these, 152 were reinterviewed in 1956.[4]

The data for the initial study were obtained by having the senior class assemble, with each student completing his own questionnaire. The same interviewer visited all schools and acted as a proctor in explaining the mechanics of the questionnaire. He read each question in order, allowing the students to complete that question before the next question was read. Data concerning intentions to migrate, vital statistics, socio-economic status of the families, questions concerning job experience, occupational and educational aspirations, parent-child relations and the respondents' attitudes toward farming were gathered and analyzed.

A second phase of the study was conducted one year later to determine the actual migration patterns of the respondents. Migration performance in the second study was analyzed in the same framework as had the migration intentions.

The third phase of this project was completed in 1956, eight years after the original study. With this time span, it was felt that the respondents could achieve an occupational choice and geographic location of a more permanent nature. For this phase of the study, data were gathered by personal interview whenever possible; however, a special

modification of the interview schedule was prepared for mailing when personal interviews were impossible. Only slight modifications were necessary to allow the completion of the questionnaire by the respondent as compared with use by the interviewer. Approximately 13 percent of the questionnaires completed were mailed. Statistical tests indicated no significant differences in responses from mailed questionnaires or personal interviews.

The operational definition of migration used by Bohlen (6) in the original study is used in this paper. Migration is defined as the permanent departure from the parental homes and home communities for any reason. Those respondents who lived in their home communities at the time of the 1956 study were considered to have stayed even though they may have moved out of their home between 1948 and 1956 and returned. This paper analyzes migration intention in 1948, migration action in 1949 and migration action in 1956.

Most discussion centers around the dependent variables of 1956 migration actions and the congruency of action with intentions stated in 1948. Congruency (21) refers to agreement between the migration pattern aspired to in 1948 and the attainment achieved in 1956. Incongruent refers to disagreement between these two variables. It was assumed that each graduating senior was a potential migrant and that his plan to leave the community was a migration intention. The 152 respondents interviewed at both periods of time are under study in this paper. There were 66 males and 86 females interviewed.

FINDINGS

Migration Congruency

Before analyzing factors related to those who migrated from their home communities and those who remained at home, it may be of interest to present a discussion of the amount of congruence or incongruence between the 1948 expectations of the seniors and their migration performance in 1949 and 1956.

In 1948 over one-third of the respondents were undecided concerning their migration intentions. See Table 1. Half of the respondents expected

(Table 1 about here)

to leave and 13 percent planned to remain in their home communities upon completion of high school. One year after graduation, two-thirds of the respondents had migrated, but by 1956 fewer respondents were residing outside their home communities. The slight decrease from the number who lived outside their home communities in 1948 indicates that a number of respondents had left home but returned by the time of the restudy in 1956.

The data indicate that migration performances were more congruent one year following high school graduation than eight years following graduation. This trend was true for those who planned to migrate and for those who planned to remain in thei. home communities. The data do indicate, however, a greater degree of congruency among those who intended to migrate from their home communities. This is supported for migration performance in 1948 and 1956.

Of those who had made a decision concerning migration expectations, only a very small proportion were unable to achieve their expectations. The largest proportion of incongruency existed among those who had

Table 1. Percentage Distribution of 1949 and 1956 Migration Performance by 1948 Migration Expectations.

1948 Expectations	1949 Performance			1956 Performance			N
	Leave %	Stay %	Total %	Leave %	Stay %	Total %	
Leave	89.5	10.5	100.0	85.5	14.5	100.0	76
Stay	30.0	70.0	100.0	25.0	75.0	100.0	20
Undecided	48.2	51.8	100.0	44.6	55.5	100.0	56
Total	66.4	33.6	100.0	62.5	37.5	100.0	152

expectations to remain in their home communities. Among those who were undecided concerning migration expectations, nearly equal proportions remained in as migrated out of their home communities. This was true for both 1949 and 1956.

Although there were a limited number of cases of incongruencies among the respondents, the actions of the 11 respondents who planned to migrate from their home communities but actually remained yielded some insights. Three of the 11 were males who had been in the military service and returned home to farm in two cases and for a nonfarm job in the other case. The 8 females left home and later returned with their husbands who were farming or who had obtained jobs in the females' home communities. Of those who intended to stay but actually migrated, two were females who left when they married. Each of the three males indicated job opportunities as the major reason for leaving his home community.

Since there is a lack of longitudinal studies comparing migration expectations and performances, an analysis was conducted to test the relationship between certain socioeconomic variables and the degree of migration congruency. Chi-square tests were used to determine whether or not a relationship existed. See Table 2.

(Table 2 about here)

The data indicate that those persons with high socioeconomic status background, frequently discussed their future plans with their parents, and aspired to obtain additional training beyond high school, were more likely to achieve their migration expectations than those who were incongruent or undecided concerning migration.[5]

Table 2. Relationship Between Specific Socio-Economic Variables and Migration Congruency.

Variable	D.f.	X^2	P
Sex	2	5.157	$<.100$
Residential background	2	.410	N. S.
Socio-economic status	2	6.342	$<.050$
Discussed with parents	2	12.999	$<.010$
College aspirations	4	42.226	$<.001$

Characteristics of Migrants

What, then, are the characteristics of those persons who remained in their home communities as compared to those who migrated? In 1948 Bohlen found that the place of residence, either rural farm or rural nonfarm was not related at a statistically significant level to expressed intentions to migrate. There was, though, a highly significant relationship between intentions and sex. A larger proportion of the girls expressed intentions to migrate with a smaller proportion undecided concerning migration.

It was hypothesized that in 1956, graduates with nonfarm backgrounds will be more likely to migrate than those with farm backgrounds and more females will migrate than males.[6] Data in Table 3 indicate the migration performance by sex and residence. The data support the residence hypothesis and using the difference of proportions test, a greater proportion

(Table 3 about here)

of nonfarm residents migrated than remained, but there was no significant difference in the proportion of farm residents who migrated or remained. See Table 4 for the Z scores and probabilities for each of the difference of proportions tested in this paper. Further analysis indicated that a

(Table 4 about here)

greater proportion of farm males remained in their home communities, but greater proportions of nonfarm males and farm and nonfarm females migrated from than remained in their home communities.

The hypothesis concerning the differences between sexes migrating from their parental homes was supported in the expected direction. A significantly greater proportion of females migrated than males. A Z score of -3.608 was obtained yielding a probability at the .001 level of significance.

Table 3. Migration Actions of Rural High School Graduates by Sex and 1948 Residence.

1948 Residence Sex	1956 Migration Performance: Stay No.	Stay %	Leave No.	Leave %	Total No.	Total %
Farm	40	44.4	50	55.6	90	100.0
Male	28	71.8	11	28.2	39	100.0
Female	12	23.5	39	76.5	51	100.0
Nonfarm	17	27.4	45	72.6	62	100.0
Male	8	29.6	19	70.4	27	100.0
Female	9	25.7	26	74.3	35	100.0
Total	57	37.5	95	63.5	152	100.0

Table 4. Summary of Difference in Proportions Total Migration Performances for Specific Social and Economic Characteristics.

Variable	1956 Migration Performance			
	Stay	Leave	Z	P (one tailed)
Farm background	44.4	55.6	-1.059	<.1450
Nonfarm background	27.4	72.6	-3.576	<.0010
Male farm	71.8	28.2	+2.725	<.0030
Male nonfarm	29.6	70.4	-2.116	<.0170
Female farm	23.5	76.5	-3.786	<.0010
Female nonfarm	25.7	74.3	-2.883	<.0020
High Socio-economic Status	43.6	56.4	-1.131	<.1280
Low Socio-economic Status	31.5	68.5	-3.173	<.0010
Male Low S.E.S.	51.9	48.1	+0.197	<.4210
Male High S.E.S.	57.9	42.1	+0.973	<.1660
Female Low S.E.S.	19.6	80.4	-4.136	<.0010
Female High S.E.S.	30.0	70.0	-2.519	<.0060
Frequently discussed with parents	29.0	71.0	-4.038	<.0010
No discussion with parents	52.6	47.4	+4.012	<.3450
Males frequently discussed with parents	38.7	61.3	-1.256	<.1040
Males no discussion with parents	68.6	31.4	+2.206	<.0140
Females frequently discussed with parents	24.2	75.8	-4.082	<.0010
Females no discussion with parents	25.0	75.0	-2.450	<.0070
College aspirations	13.7	86.3	-5.186	<.0010
No college aspirations	55.3	44.7	+0.728	<.2327

Another background characteristic found to be related to migration performance is the socioeconomic background of the youth. It is hypothesized that rural youth with high socioeconomic backgrounds will be more likely to migrate than youth with lower socioeconomic backgrounds. Data give no support to the hypothesis. Using the socioeconomic status scale developed by Sewell (29) and dichotomizing the respondents into high and low socioeconomic status, a greater proportion of those with a low socioeconomic status migrated than those with a high socioeconomic status.

To determine if there were any sex differences in socioeconomic status, difference of proportions tests were performed. Results of the analysis indicated no significant differences between migration performance and socioeconomic status for males, but the results were in the expected direction. For the females, results indicated that a higher proportion of those with low and high socioeconomic status migrated than remained in their home communities. Therefore, the hypothesis is supported by the males but not by the females.

The hypothesis that rural youth who discussed their future plans with parents will be more likely to migrate from their home communities than youth who don't discuss or infrequently discussed their plans with parents was not supported. Data indicated that a higher proportion of respondents migrated who frequently discussed their future plans with parents, and a higher proportion of those who did not discuss or infrequently discussed their plans did not migrate, but the associated value of Z for no discussion was not significant at the .05 level.

Again, it was the females who were inconsistent with the hypothesis. Greater proportions of females migrated than remained among those who frequently discussed or did not discuss their future plans. The data from the males is in the expected direction.

A Chi-square test was used to determine the relationship between college aspirations and migration performance, and a relationship at the .001 level of significance was found. Since a relationship was found, two sets of comparisons in proportion to migration performances were then made: one was between having aspirations to attend college and those having no aspirations; the second was between the proportion making a decision concerning college aspirations and those who were undecided concerning college aspirations.

The results of this analysis indicated differences in the predicted direction for those who made a decision, but when comparing those who had made a decision with those who were undecided, larger proportions of both groups migrated from than remained in their home communities. From these results, the hypothesis that rural youth with aspiration to obtain additional training beyond high school will be more likely to migrate from their home communities than those with no college aspirations for additional training was supported.

Previous studies have indicated that migration from rural areas takes place shortly after graduation from high school. Data from the present study strongly support these findings. It was found that a larger percentage of females than males left their home communities sooner after high school graduation. Over 81 percent of the females had migrated within one year of graduation, 16 percent of whom returned to their home

communities by 1956 and were considered to have remained in their home communities for analysis in this paper. Only 12 percent of the females never left their home communities between 1948 and 1956.

The males as compared to the females, did not have the mass migration tendencies during the first year after graduation. Only 47 percent had migrated the first year. Fourteen percent of the males never left their home communities between 1948 and 1956. Approximately 41 percent of the males migrated some time between 1948 and 1956 but returned and resided in their home communities by 1956 and were considered to have remained in their home communities for the analysis of this paper.

What was the geographic distribution of the sample in 1956? Table 5 indicates the 1956 residence of the respondents by sex. Only one-

(Table 5 about here)

fourth of the females lived in their home communities while over 50 percent of the males lived in their home communities. It also is seen that 78 percent of the females and 85 percent of the males lived within the state of Iowa, while 22 percent of the females and 15 percent of the males left Iowa. From these data, it is clear that the females migrated greater distances from their home communities than the males. After eight years, over one-third of the respondents were residing in their home communities.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The present paper is concerned with the migration expectations and performances which existed among the 1948 graduates in the eight rural high schools in Hamilton County, Iowa, and Story City High School in Story County, Iowa. The respondents were interviewed as seniors in 1948 and

Table 5. 1956 Residence of 1948 Graduates of Hamilton County and Story City Rural High Schools.

1956 Residence	Female		Male		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Home Community	21	24.5	36	54.5	57	37.5
Home County	13	15.1	4	6.1	17	11.2
Contiguous County	15	17.4	3	4.5	18	11.8
Other Counties in Iowa	18	20.9	13	19.7	31	20.4
Contiguous States	11	12.8	5	7.6	16	10.5
Other States	7	8.1	5	7.6	12	7.9
Foreign	1	1.2	0	0.0	1	0.7
Total	86	100.0	66	100.0	152	100.0

again reinterviewed in 1956 concerning their migration performance at that time. In 1948 the respondents were asked whether or not they intended to leave their home communities and in 1956 it was determined where they resided. Analysis indicated that in 1948, 63 percent of the sample had made a decision concerning migration intentions, and it further was found that over 83 percent of those who had made a decision achieved their goal in 1956. Of those who were undecided in 1948 concerning migration intentions, nearly half migrated from their home communities and half remained in their home communities.

Further analysis yielded results indicating that those who were congruent with their intentions were more likely to have frequently discussed future plans with their parents, had a higher socioeconomic background and aspired to obtain additional training beyond high school.

Concerning differences between those who remained in and those who migrated from their home communities, it was found that more females migrated than males and more nonfarm males migrated than farm males. Nearly half the males and four-fifths of the females left their home communities within one year after graduation. Data from the males gave more support to the hypotheses than did data from the females. The males who migrated had a higher socioeconomic background, more frequently discussed their future plans with their parents and more aspired to obtain additional training beyond high school than those males who remained in their home communities. For these variables, no differences existed between females who migrated or remained in their home communities.

Data from this study give little support to studies which have indicated that little differences exist in the decision making process of

males and females. In practically every case, males conformed to expectations, but females did not. Other intenvening variables appear to be involved in the females not performing as they expected at the time of graduation. Further research is needed to determine which factors are involved.

FOOTNOTES

1. For a discussion of occupational choices of farm boys and a bibliography of related research see Haller and Sewell (15).

2. Story City was chosen to increase the number of cases in the sample. Although it lies in Story County, it is the center of a Norwegian cultural area which includes the southeastern portion of Hamilton County.

3. Webster City was eliminated because the school was in an urban center and would require additional urban centers to increase the size of an urban sample.

4. Two persons were deceased and three were unavailable because of personal reasons.

5. The breakdown of these variables is discussed in the following section.

6. The hypotheses were tested in the null form using the differences of proportions test that $P_1 = P_2$. Blalock (5) stated that no assumption other than the hypothesis is required about a population and a Z score is the test statistic to use.

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